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A Catalan contribution to the myth of the *contubernio* *Judeo-Masónico-Bolchevique*

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One of the principal justifications for the military coup of 1936 and the subsequent plan of extermination behind right-wing violence in the Civil War was the accusation that the Second Republic was the anti-Spanish instrument of the Jewish-Masonic-Bolshevik conspiracy. Thus, when the conspirators declared that punishment had to be inflicted on freemasons, liberal politicians, journalists, school-teachers, professors, as well as on leftists and trade-unionists, they used the idea of an evil Jewish conspiracy to destroy the Christian world. Of all of the writers who called for an assault on progressive Spain, those who might be termed the ‘theorists of extermination’, the most influential was the Catalan priest, Juan Tusquets Terrats (1901–1998). Awareness and approval of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was promoted through his enormously popular writings. During the Civil War, he became an adviser to Generals Mola and Franco and his file-card index of names of supposed freemasons was part of the infrastructure of repression.

Keywords: Spain; Second Republic; anti-semitism; freemasons; conspiracy

One of the principal contributions to right-wing violence in the Civil War was the accusation that the Second Republic was the anti-Spanish instrument of the *contubernio Judeo-Masónico-Bolchevique*. The idea of an evil Jewish conspiracy to destroy the Christian world went back to the Middle Ages, but it was given a modern spin in Spain by the dissemination from 1932 onwards of *The protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Drawing on French, German and Russian myths, this fantastical concoction purveyed the idea that a secret Jewish government, the Elders of Zion, was plotting the destruction of Christianity and Jewish world domination.¹ The first Spanish translation of *The protocols* had been published in Leipzig in 1930. Another translation was made available in Barcelona in 1932 by a Jesuit publishing house which then serialised it in one of its magazines. Awareness and approval of *The protocols* was helped greatly by the enormous popularity of the work of the Catalan priest, Juan Tusquets Terrats (1901–1998), author of the best seller *Orígenes de la revolución española* (1932a). Tusquets was born into a wealthy banking family in Barcelona on 31 March 1901. His father was a descendant of Jewish bankers, a committed Catalanist and a friend of Francesc Cambó. His mother was a member of the fabulously wealthy Milà family, the patrons of Gaudí. As a teenager, Tusquets was also a militant

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Catalan nationalist. During the revolutionary disturbances of 1917, he had taken to the streets with his school-friends and chanted Catalanist slogans. His secondary education took place in a Jesuit school, then he studied at the University of Louvain and the Pontifical University in Tarragona, where he wrote his doctorate. He was ordained in 1926. Described by one of his ecclesiastical patrons as 'slim, supple and hyperactive', the young scholar was regarded as one of the brightest hopes of Catalan philosophy. Renowned for his piety and his enormous culture, he became a teacher in the seminary of the Catalan capital, where he was commissioned to write a book on Madame Blavatsky's theosophism. In the course of his research and in the wake of its success, he developed an obsessive interest in secret societies.²

Despite, or perhaps because of, his own remote Jewish origins, by the time the Second Republic was established his investigations into secret societies had developed into a fierce anti-Semitism and an even fiercer hatred of freemasonry. In a further rejection of his family background, he turned violently against Catalanism and gained great notoriety by falsely accusing the Catalan leader Francesc Macià of being a freemason.³ Working with another priest, Joaquim Guiu Bonastre, he built up a network of what he regarded as his 'informants', that is to say, freemasons who told him about lodge meetings. His ostentatious piety notwithstanding, Tusquets was not above spying, or even burglary. One of the principal lodges in Barcelona was in the Carrer d'Avinyó next to a pharmacy. Since Tusquets's aunt lived behind the pharmacy, he and Father Guiu were able spy on the freemasons from her flat. On one occasion, they broke into another lodge and set a fire in order, in the ensuing confusion, to steal a series of documents. These 'researches' were the basis for the regular, and vehemently anti-Masonic, articles that he contributed to the Carlist newspaper *El Correo Catalán* and for his book *Orígenes de la revolución española*. This immensely successful book was notable both for popularising the notion that the Republic was the fruit of a Jewish–Masonic conspiracy and also for publishing the names of those he considered its most sinister artificers. He later alleged that, in retaliation for his writings, the freemasons twice tried to assassinate him. From his account, it seems that they did not try very hard. On the first occasion, he cheated death simply by getting into a taxi. On the second, he claimed, curiously, that he was saved by an escort provided by the anarcho-sindicalist newspaper *Solidaridad Obrera*. This benevolence on the part of the anarchists was all the more curious given their passionate anticlericalism.⁴

Tusquets used *The protocols* as 'documentary' evidence of his essential thesis that the Jews were bent on the destruction of Christian civilisation. Their instruments would be freemasons and Socialists who do their dirty work by means of revolution, economic catastrophes, unholy and pornographic propaganda and unlimited liberalism. In Spain, he denounced the Second Republic as the child of freemasonry and accused the President, the piously Catholic Niceto Alcalá Zamora, of being both a Jew and a freemason.⁵ The message was clear: Spain and the Catholic Church could be saved only by the destruction of Jews, freemasons and Socialists, in other words, of the entire left of the political spectrum. Tusquets' book *Orígenes de la revolución española* (1932a) not only sold massively but also provoked a noisy national polemic which served to give even greater currency to his ideas. His central notion that the Republic was a dictatorship in the hands of 'Judaic freemasonry' was further disseminated through his many articles in *El Correo Catalán* and a highly successful series of 15 books (*Las Sectas*) attacking freemasonry, communism and Judaism. The second volume of *Las Sectas* included a complete translation of *The protocols* and also repeated his slurs on Macià.⁶ Among those

influenced by the publication of *The protocols* was his brother-in-law Víctor Guillén, who would give copies of it to his family and friends. After the Second World War, he would deny the existence of the holocaust and kept a substantial museum in his house full of photographs of Hitler and Eva Braun and of Nazi flags and artefacts (Tusquets Guillén 2007, 62–66).

So great was the wider impact of his writings that in late 1933 Tusquets was invited by the International Anti-Masonic Association to visit the recently established concentration camp at Dachau. He commented that ‘they did it to show what we had to do in Spain’. Dachau was established as a camp for various groups that the Nazis wished to quarantine: political prisoners (Communist, Socialist, liberal, Catholic and monarchist opponents of the regime) and those that they defined as asociales or deviants (homosexuals, gypsies, vagrants). More than 50 years later, he would claim to have been shocked by what he saw. Nevertheless, at the time, the flow and the intensity of his anti-Semitic and anti-Masonic publications did not abate (Subirà 1996, 25; see also Bonada 1990).

Tusquets would come to have enormous influence within the Spanish right in general and specifically over General Franco who enthusiastically devoured his anti-Masonic and anti-Semitic diatribes (Riera 1998, 126–27). However, Tusquets did more than just develop the ideas that justified violence. He was on the periphery of the military plot against the Republic through his links with Catalan Carlists. In late May 1936, he approached Joaquim Maria de Nadal, private secretary to the Catalan plutocrat, Francesc Cambó, and requested financial assistance for the forthcoming coup d’état. He was emboldened to do so because Cambó, as a friend of Tusquets’s father, had written and congratulated him on the success of *Orígenes de la revolución española*. It appears that the financial help did not materialise (De Nadal 1957, 265; Rager 1993, 40). Nevertheless, he was able to make an important contribution to the rebel cause. From the early 1930s, with the help of Joaquim Guiu, Tusquets had assiduously compiled lists of Jews and freemasons in part on the basis of information provided by a network of what he called ‘mis fieles y audaces informadores’ [my faithful and audacious informers]. Their search for the enemy extended to societies of nudists, vegetarians, spiritualists and enthusiasts of Esperanto. When Tusquets finally became a collaborator of Franco in Burgos during the Civil War, his files on alleged freemasons would provide an important part of the organisational infrastructure of the repression.⁷

With the collapse of the structures of law and order in the immediate aftermath of the military uprising, right-wingers of all kinds, industrialists, landowners and clerics, were often in danger in Republican Spain. This was especially true for Father Juan Tusquets who, given the immense notoriety achieved by his books and the polemic occasioned by his attacks on Macià, had managed to make enemies of the entire spectrum of the left. His faithful collaborator, Joaquim Guiu, would be murdered on 30 January 1939 in Collell (Gerona).⁸ Tusquets’s two brothers, Jaime, a lawyer, and Manuel, a pharmacy student, were civilian volunteers who supported the rebellion having been assured by Juan that ‘religion was in danger from atheistic Communism’. They both died in the fighting in Barcelona in the early hours of 19 July 1936. Accordingly, Father Tusquets went into hiding, moving first to the house of Gertrudis Milà, a relative of his mother’s, and then to the apartment of his brother, Magí.

The scale of the danger facing Tusquets was further underlined when Emili Blay, the husband of his sister María Teresa, was murdered in Vilafranca del Penedés on 26 July. Three days later, a patrol of the anarchist FAI was about to search the building in which

Magí's flat was located. Despite claiming to have been saved from the murderous intentions of freemasons by anarchists, there was every reason to believe that, if the patrol caught him, they would kill him. Magí went out and found a detachment of the middle-class nationalist organisation, Estat Català, which obliged the anarchists to move on without searching the building. Finally, Emili Blay's brother Andreu, who was acting Consul of Paraguay, managed to get hold of a Portuguese passport for Tusquets. On 31 July, with that document, Tusquets managed to get aboard a German ship bound for Genoa. From there he went to Rome where he stayed until the end of August. Finally, with permission from the Vatican, he made his way through France and finally reached Pamplona.⁹ There, he made contact with Father Luis de Despujol Ricart, the intimate friend and collaborator of Cardinal Isidro Gomá, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of all Spain, who had taken up residence in the Navarrese capital. Tusquets soon moved to Burgos where he looked after his bereaved sister and her two children. Amongst his numerous activities there, he assiduously maintained close relations with Gomá.¹⁰

Highly popular in military circles as the leading Spanish opponent of freemasonry, Tusquets was assured of a warm reception.¹¹ The fact that both Mola and Franco, who were paranoid in their hatred of freemasonry, were known to be enthusiastic readers of Tusquets ensured that he would find preferment within the Nationalist establishment. He worked for a time in Burgos with Mola, alongside one of the most sinister figures to be found on the Nationalist side, the general's friend and one-time subordinate, the policeman Julián Mauricio Carlavilla del Barrio. Carlavilla specialised in undercover work, infiltrating left-wing groups where he would then act as an agent provocateur.¹² When General Mola became Director General of Security in early 1930, Carlavilla informed him of his clandestine activities, which he described as 'my role as catalyst within the highest circle of the revolutionaries'.¹³ Between 1932 and 1936, Carlavilla had written a series of bestsellers, using the pseudonym Mauricio Karl.¹⁴ The first, *El comunismo en España*, described the various Socialist, anarchist and Communist elements of the working-class movement as the enemy of Spain that would have to be defeated. The second and third, *El enemigo* and *Asesinos de España*, argued that the enemies masterminding the left-wing assassins of Spain were the Jews who controlled freemasonry 'their first army', the Socialist and Communist Internationals and world capitalism. The only hope of stopping the destruction of Christian civilisation and the establishment of the empire of Israel lay in joining German Nazism and Italian Fascism in defeating the 'sectarians of world Jewry'. He asserted that General Primo de Rivera, who died of natural causes, had been poisoned by a Jewish freemason and that the Catalan financier, Francesc Cambó, was both Jewish and a freemason.

One hundred thousand copies of the third of Carlavilla's books, *Asesinos de España*, were distributed free to army officers. It ended with a provocative challenge to them: describing Jews, left-wingers and freemasons as vultures hovering over the corpse of Spain, he wrote:

The Enemy howls with laughter while the nations that serve Zion play diplomatic dice for the cadaver's land. Thus might be the real end of Spain who was once feared by a hundred nations. And so it will be because her sons no longer know how to die. Nor how to kill.¹⁵

Carlavilla was expelled from the police in 1935 as a result of what he would later describe as persecution for his anti-Masonic revelations. In May 1936, after being involved in an attempt to assassinate Manuel Azaña, he fled to Portugal. Carlavilla had lived and worked

in Lisbon on the fringes of the group gathered around General Sanjurjo. Shortly after the outbreak of war, he went to Burgos where he was welcomed onto the staff of General Mola. At some point while Tusquets worked in Mola's headquarters, Carlavilla helped him scour the press for evidence of Masonic or Jewish influences (Arrarás 1939–43, 503; Cabanellas 1977, 274). Carlavilla joined the column of exiled rightists organised by Comandante Lisardo Doval. In Salamanca, Carlavilla helped Doval organise and recruit for his column as well as briefly participating in it as a rank-and-file soldier. Doval sent him back to Portugal to buy arms and supplies for the column. There he began to work as an agent for Nicolás Franco in the Nationalist Embassy seeking out dissident Falangists. As a result of his investigations of the followers of Manuel Hedilla, in May 1937, he was the victim of an attempt on his life in Valladolid, as a consequence of which he returned to Portugal. He was arrested by the Portuguese police on suspicion of involvement in black market currency dealings and was expelled from Portugal. Despite his personal corruption, he was regarded as an efficient agent on behalf of Nicolás Franco.¹⁶

After Franco was installed in Salamanca as Head of the Nationalist State on 1 October 1936, Tusquets's stock rose rapidly. He was helped immensely by the fact that a friend and one-time fellow student from Barcelona, Father José María Bulart, at the time secretary to the Bishop of Salamanca, Enrique Plá i Deniel, was appointed chaplain to the Franco family on 4 October. Whenever Father Bulart was not available, Tusquets would go to the Episcopal Palace to say mass for the General's family. He was also appointed tutor (preceptor) to the dictator's daughter, Carmen. He became a frequent visitor to the Palacio Episcopal where the Franco family had taken up residence at the gracious insistence of Bishop Plá i Deniel. Moving frequently between Salamanca and Burgos, by November Tusquets was also tutor to the two daughters of General Fidel Dávila, the President of the rebel 'government', la Junta Técnica. Luis de Despujol reported to Cardinal Gomá from Salamanca that:

Tusquets is well placed and highly thought of. His principal activity is the search for Masonic documents and everything related to that subject. The Government has set up an office with this purpose and Tusquets is employed there and indeed is the very soul of the enterprise.

Tusquets was also appointed *consejero de la Comisión de Cultura y Enseñanza de la Junta Técnica del Estado*, advising on matters relating to religious education. While Tusquets continued his anti-Masonic investigations, Carlavilla moved to Salamanca where he began to work for Nicolás Franco as a spy within the Falange.¹⁷

Like others who had suffered bereavement at the hands of the other side, Tusquets seems to have felt a mixture of vengefulness and suicidal thoughts. Perhaps that is why this pale and elegant priest established such a close friendship with the similarly traumatised Ramón Serrano Suñer after the Caudillo's brother-in-law arrived in Salamanca on 20 February 1937. Echoing the deranged General José Millán Astray, Tusquets told a Carlist friend in Burgos, 'I am in love with death. And death is the most disdainful and ungrateful lover. When she realises that she is desired, that she is idolised, that she is truly loved, she flees, she escapes, she deserts' (Pérez de Olaguer 1938, 67–68).

Not long after Franco established his headquarters in Salamanca, Tusquets's desire for vengeance found an outlet in the office to which Father de Despujol had referred in his report to Cardinal Gomá. Together with Comandante Antonio Palau, he was placed in charge of the Sección Judeo-Masónica, the anti-Jewish and anti-masonic section of the rebel intelligence services, the Servicio de Información Militar. His job was to collect and

systematise all information on freemasons both gathered by the intelligence services and published in the Republican and international daily press. From this material, he inflated his existing lists, dossiers and files on freemasons who were assumed to be enemies of the rebel cause. This often inaccurate information would play a crucial role in the repression. However, Tusquets was equally assiduous in exposing possible freemasons among those who had supported the military uprising.¹⁸ In the words of the Falangist Maximiano García Venero, 'he would seek out traces of freemasonry in the writings, words and private conduct of supporters of the National Movement. Tusquets saw freemasons everywhere.' He once told Ramón Garriga, a close collaborator of Serrano Suñer in the press service, that he could spot a freemason by the way in which his handkerchief was placed in his top pocket. From this material, he wrote reports about 'nuestros adversarios' that were sent both to the army high command and to the ecclesiastical hierarchy.¹⁹ Cardinal Gomá was delighted and informed Cardinal Pacelli, the Vatican Secretary of State, that the military authorities were now stepping up 'the elimination of freemasonry'. He explained that 'to this end an investigative office has been set up along the lines of the French Deuxième Bureau, directed by specialists and installed within the headquarters of the President of the Government in Burgos'.²⁰ Tusquets himself described the scrutiny of the Republican press and of captured documentation, and the building up of his files on suspected freemasons as the work of the 'policía intelectual' of the new regime (Tusquets 1939, 258).

Father Tusquets complained constantly that his salary from his work was exiguous. In February 1937, he wrote to Cardinal Gomá lamenting that, from what he earned, he had to maintain his sister 'whose husband was barbarously murdered' and her two children. To increase his income, he was keen to accept an invitation from General Fidel Dávila, Presidente de la Junta Técnica, to join the Nationalist army's corps of chaplains. It was necessary to seek Gomá's leave to join because large numbers of Navarrese priests had simply gone to war abandoning their parishes without permission. After Gomá granted permission, Tusquets was given the rank of lieutenant in the army and worked briefly as a chaplain to units of the Falangist militia. He joined the Falange, figuring in the lists of the party's Catalan members.²¹ Despite his new post and success as a writer and lecturer, Tusquets was still short of money and he complained to the colonel in charge of pay who came up with the solution of giving him a horse. Thereafter, whenever Tusquets needed money for his sister, he simply requested that amount to have the horse shod (Subirà 1996, 32).

In late 1936, Franco's Cuartel-General had helped Tusquets set up a publishing house, Ediciones Antisectarias. Over the next two years, he would publish 20 volumes denouncing the sinister machinations of Spain's Jewish and Masonic enemies. Apart from four titles attributed to Tusquets, another, the rabidly anti-semitic *El Judaísmo*, signed by the non-existent 'Barón de Santa Clara', may well have been by him. At least three of his authors also worked in the Sección Judeo-Masónica of the Servicio de Investigación Militar (Military Intelligence – SIM) and based their books on its documentation. This suggests that Ediciones Antisectarias functioned as the propaganda arm of the anti-Masonic section of the secret services. However, the publishing house was run as a family business owned jointly by Father Tusquets and his brother Carlos. Despite Tusquets's claims of penury, the books he published were massive bestsellers with sales in the tens of thousands. Serrano Suñer collaborated with him and wrote the prologue to his virulently anti-Semitic tract, *Masones y pacifistas* (Tusquets 1939). He particularly praised Tusquets's earlier

publication of the *Cuadernos de Información*, which had been widely circulated amongst the retired army officers who took part in the military conspiracy and was thus a significant contribution to 'the creation of the atmosphere which led to the National uprising'.²²

The tall, blonde-haired Tusquets was an inspiring public performer and he made lecture tours propagating his conspiratorial theories to huge and appreciative audiences. In November 1936, he gave the lecture subsequently published as *La Francmasonería, crimen de lesa patria* (Tusquets 1936), which went into several editions and sold massively. In it, he accused freemasonry of being a Jewish creation, a weapon of English imperialism and responsible for the bloodshed in the Mexican and Russian revolutions. Freemasonry had, Tusquets absurdly alleged, directly organised the murder of José Calvo Sotelo. He also described it as a cancer in the body and a poison in the veins of the nation. He claimed that among the instruments of freemasonry were nudism, esperantism and vegetarianism – accusations that would lead to police persecution for the practitioners of such innocuous activities.²³ In the equally best-selling *Masonería y separatismo*, he blamed freemasonry for the loss of Spain's empire and for the birth of Catalan and Basque nationalisms (Tusquets 1937, 28–34, 62–66). In a lecture given in Zaragoza on 21 March 1937, with the title 'La Masonería y el obrero', he took his anti-Semitism to new heights, arguing that the workers' movement was the puppet of Jewish revolutionaries (Morales Ruiz 2011, 335–37). A regular feature of his lectures was a spine-chilling recitation of the crimes that he attributed to the freemasons. His normally quiet delivery would turn into a howl of rage as he called for the extermination of all freemasons in Spain (Ruiz Vilaplana n.d. [1938], 193).

Masones y pacifistas was Tusquets's most virulently anti-Semitic tract. He blamed the Civil War on Jewish machinations:

The determination to multiply the number of Masonic temples in Spain and turn Spain into the slave of Judaism has led to the burning of the most beautiful altars and has destroyed thousand year-old churches... The Devil and freemasonry are motivated by the same purpose: to destroy Christian civilisation, to build on its ruins the materialistic and despotic temple of Judaism. (Tusquets 1939, 21–22, 92)

His efforts in the SIM would eventually be eclipsed by the creation and growth of the Delegación del Estado para la Recuperación de Documentos (DERD). Under the dynamic direction of Marcelino Ulibarri, all efforts to gather material on freemasons and other enemies of the rebel cause were centralised. This was not entirely to the liking of Father Tusquets, who resisted efforts to make him hand over his personal archive to Ulibarri, although he did eventually collaborate with the DERD. Until the occupation of Catalonia in January 1939, he continued to work in a much reduced Sección Judeo-Masónica within the SIM. In 1941, a proposal was made that he be rewarded for his services by the granting of two medals, the *Medalla de campaña con distintivo de campaña* and the *Cruz roja de mérito militar*.²⁴

Despite the disappointment of the clash with Ulibarri, Tusquets had become an immensely influential figure within the Nationalist zone. He had always put immense effort into creating links with those in power. His assiduous links with Cardinal Gomá and Generals Franco and Dávila demonstrated his readiness to take full advantage in terms of jobs and preferment. In July 1937, for instance, he wrote a sycophantic letter congratulating Pedro Sainz Rodríguez on his recent appointment as Jefe Nacional de

Educación within the Junta Técnica and offering his services (Sainz Rodríguez 1978, 387). He had also made successful efforts to establish a relationship with Ramón Serrano Suñer. The opportunity arose in March 1938 when the distinguished French Catholic philosopher Jacques Maritain criticised the Nationalist bombing raids on Barcelona, which he described as ‘the most violent bombing carried out since air forces came into being’. He wrote that ‘if humanitarian reasons alone are enough to condemn such a massacre of non-combatants, this massacre is all the more repugnant if such a thing is possible given that those responsible for the operations claim to be defending Christian civilisation’. Maritain, who was a convert to Catholicism married to a Jewish woman, was denounced as ‘this converted Jew’ by Ramón Serrano Suñer on 12 May and again in a speech on 19 June 1938 commemorating the fall of Bilbao. Claiming that the words of Maritain echoed the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, he described him as the darling of Masonic lodges and synagogues. A week after Serrano Suñer’s first declaration, Joan Tusquets came out in support of the Minister, publishing an article attacking Maritain for his links with Jews, freemasons and Catalan nationalists.²⁵

This paid off, in early 1938, when Serrano Suñer created the Servicio Nacional de Propaganda, and gave Tusquets the job of selecting material which the Catholic Church would wish to see published (Andrés-Gallego 1997, 134, 161; Archivo Gomá 2006, 302–03, 309–10, 374). He wrote proudly of his connections: ‘I write at the orders of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The Generalísimo approves of my campaigns. They have been supported by the Minister of the Interior Serrano Suñer.’ In the autumn of 1938, on the eve of the great Nationalist offensive against Catalonia, Franco and Serrano Suñer asked him to suggest names to head the institutions to be set up by the occupying forces. On the basis of his advice, Franco selected the future Mayor of Barcelona, Miquel Mateu, and other important appointees (Canal 1996, 1208–9; Mora 1992, 238–39; Riera 1998, 127; Tusquets 1939, 257).

After the Civil War, Father Tusquets returned to Barcelona where, with freemasonry eliminated from Spanish life, and perhaps traumatised by the activities of the occupying forces in Catalonia, he turned his back on the possibility of preferment. At the end of the war, Serrano Suñer offered him the post of Director General de Prensa y Propaganda. He refused on the grounds that he wished to return to his ecclesiastical duties (Canal 1996, 1208–9; Mora 1992, 238–39; Riera 1998, 127). Similarly, when Franco later offered him the position of religious adviser to the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, he declined, alleging that he did not want to live in Madrid and be separated from his widowed sister and his niece and nephew. Given that in previous years Tusquets had revelled in his closeness to the epicentres of power and had, on the grounds of penury, shamelessly sought to accumulate salaries, the refusal of two such important and well-paid posts is noteworthy. There are reasons for suspecting that he was shocked by the brutality of the occupying Francoist forces in Catalonia and perhaps felt some guilt for his part in fomenting the hatreds that drove it. Certainly, he claimed later that he had made a special effort to get people of his acquaintance out of concentration camps. This may be true but no evidence has come to light. Moreover, in several interviews, he asserted that he prevented major Catalan treasures such as the Archive of the Crown of Aragón and the Biblioteca de Catalunya from suffering the fate of so many other Catalan institutions whose books, documents and papers were seized and sent to Salamanca, a process which he had encouraged (Bonada 1990; Mora 1992, 239; Subirà 1996, 36). Having contributed so substantially to the mentality of hatred that lay behind the repression of Catalonia, it is

not unreasonable to speculate that he was horrified by the practical consequences of his anti-Masonic and anti-Jewish campaigns.

Instead of accepting official preferment, he returned to religious education. He founded the journals *Formación Catequista* and *Perpectivas Pedagógicas*. Ediciones Antisectarias was converted into the publishing house Editorial Lumen. Under the direction of his brother Carlos, Lumen specialised in religious texts. Juan Tusquets was given a chair of Pedagogy in the University of Barcelona and wrote several books on the subject as well as on Ramón Llull, the thirteenth-century Mallorquín philosopher. Nevertheless, he remained proud of his work and of his connection with Franco, delighted to be asked occasionally for advice on issues such as student unrest. He also maintained his friendship with Franco's chaplain, José María Bulart. Throughout these years he lived quietly in Barcelona with his widowed mother, his sister María Teresa and her two children. The family's banking wealth had long since been dissipated.

In interviews given in old age, Juan Tusquets tried in various ways to dissociate himself from his past. He alleged that, in the early 1930s, it was his sidekick, Joaquim Guiu, and not himself, who had been obsessive about freemasonry (Tusquets Guillén 2007, 153–56, 158–61; see also Mora 1992, 234). He denied any participation in the repression, even claiming mendaciously that he had categorically refused to let his lists of names be used by the Francoist authorities. In a tone of disgust, he distanced himself from his wartime collaborator in the compilation of lists, Mauricio Carlavilla, telling the historian Jordi Canal that Carlavilla was a 'a passionate Nazi who made up more even than Comín Colomer' – a reference to another policeman who wrote polemical books attacking the left. Tusquets tried to give his own anti-Masonic work a retrospective respectability by insinuating that it had been commissioned by the much revered liberal Cardinal Francesc Vidal i Barraquer. In fact, the only commission ever given him by Vidal i Barraquer was for his book on theosophism. Vidal i Barraquer also wrote a prologue for his *Manual de catecisme*. However, he was hardly responsible for Tusquets's subsequent anti-Masonic and anti-Semitic campaigns. Indeed, Tusquets's attacks on both Francesc Macià and Niceto Alcalá Zamora had caused the Cardinal considerable embarrassment (Vidal i Barraquer 1971–1990, , 386, 638, 644–46, 935; see also Subirà 1996, 21).

Despite his attacks on Francesc Macià, Tusquets even claimed, somewhat incredibly, 'I always made an effort to do my work without ever renouncing my identity as a Catalan and a Catalanist, whether with Franco or with anyone else'. Even more implausibly he claimed that, in his reports to Franco during the Civil War, he had denounced the Nazi persecution of the Jews as a result of being shocked by the visit that he made in 1934 to the concentration camp at Dachau on the invitation of the International Anti-Masonic Association. He said:

They were camps aimed at killing the Jews through exhaustion. I had gone to Germany with some hope of learning about Hitler and his promises. But I was disillusioned when I saw that it was all paganism and they were persecuting the Jews. When Franco commissioned me to do a daily résumé of the press, I did so stressing what the Nazis were doing and that the Falange with all its liturgy was just another sect, just like freemasonry.

His memory was surely faulty since, at the time of the visit, the mass detentions of Jews were still four years away. This later description is clearly coloured by what he came to know about Nazi death camps as they operated during the Second World War. When Tusquets visited Dachau in 1934, then there is no way he could have known which of the

prisoners were Jewish since they were not yet classified as such. Moreover, his claim sits uneasily with his membership of the Falange and the fact that he continued to make anti-Semitic propaganda in his lectures and writings and did so with ever-greater vehemence as the Civil War progressed.²⁶

Notes

1. On the genesis of the Protocols, see Cohn (1970).
2. On Tusquets, see Mora (1992); Ferrer Benimelli (1982, 191–97); Canal (1996, 1193–1214); Domínguez Arribas (2007, 1157–1196).
3. On Tusquets's accusations against Macià, see Tusquets (1932a, 150–51); Tusquets (1939, 104–05); Raguier (1976, 279–80); Vidal i Barraquer (1971–1990, 386, 638, 935).
4. On the burglary and the alleged assassination attempts, see Mora (1992, 234–35).
5. Tusquets (1932a, 101, 137). Alcalá Zamora wrote in protest to Archbishop Vidal i Barraquer, on 26 March 1932. Vidal i Barraquer (1971–1990, Vol. II, 644–46).
6. Tusquets (1932b); Tusquets (1932a, 35–36, 41, 99, 126–27); Canal (1996, 1201–07).
7. Tusquets (1932a, 51–57, 95–96, 122–26, 170, 177, 207–15). On the compilation of lists, see also the Archivo Histórico Nacional (1942).
8. Solé i Sabaté and Villarroja i Font (1989, 536).
9. Magí Tusquets was a doctor and a publisher. He was father of the architect Oscar and the publisher Esther. Mora (1992, 237); Riera (1998, 126–27, 274); Canal (1996, 1207–08).
10. Archivo Gomá (2001, 216–20, 488); Archivo Gomá (2002a, 55–56, 217–18); Archivo Gomá (2002b, 212–13).
11. As he put it himself, 'La meva popularitat va a repercutir entre el militars i la gent que preparava el cop d'Estat. De manera que quan aconseguixo fugir a l'Espanya nacional, sóc rebut amb entusiasme'. Bonada (1990).
12. He gave his own account of this in Karl (1935, 60–68, 76–81).
13. Carlavilla (1959, 18, 434–38). In his memoirs, General Mola (1940, 758) describes the work of an unnamed undercover policeman. Carlavilla (1959, 436) claims that this was a reference to his activities.
14. On Carlavilla, see Southworth (2002, 207, 212–13); Álvarez Chillida (2002, 320–1). According to De la Cierva (1968, 115, 140, 365), his name was Mauricio Carlavilla de la Vega. However, one of his later books, published when he no longer felt the need for a pseudonym, is signed 'Mauricio Carlavilla del Barrio "Mauricio Karl"' (1956). Mola acknowledged knowing Carlavilla well (1940, 624).
15. Karl (1936) on Hitler and Mussolini (21–24, 85–89, 196–207), the army (320–21) and Cambó (74–75); Puértolas (1986, 1987, 309); Venero (1967, 309).
16. Archivo General del Ministerio de Interior (1947, Doc 238, Doc 272); Venero (1967, 309, 343).
17. Bonada (1990); interview in Subirà (1996, 15–16); Garriga (1979, 182); Venero (1967, 309, 343); Interview with José María Bulart in Mérida (1977, 31); Archivo Gomá (2001, 336).
18. On Tusquets's role in the SIM, see Domínguez Arribas (2007, 1165–67). In the autumn of 1938, Tusquets referred to 'mi buen amigo el comandante Palau' in a letter to Gomá (Andrés-Gallego 1997, 176). He also admitted his familiarity with the material collected by the SIM (Tusquets 1939, 218).
19. Serrano Suñer, Ramón. Interview by Paul Preston; Venero (1967, 343); Garriga (1977, 200); Subirà (1996, 32); Ferrer Benimelli (1982, 191–97); Canal (1996, 1207–08).
20. Gomá to Pacelli, April 8, 1937. Archivo Gomá (2003, 81–83).
21. Subirà (1996, 32); Tusquets to Gomá, February 17, 1937. Archivo Gomá (2002a, 247–8); Raguier (2001, 207–08); Thomàs (1992, 465).
22. Domínguez Arribas (2007, 1171–79, 1195–96); Ramón Serrano Suñer, 'Prólogo', in Tusquets (1939).
23. Tusquets (1936, 3–4, 7–8, 13, 19, 24, 45). On his lecture style, see Pérez de Olaguer (1938, 109–11).

24. On Ulibarri's clash with Tusquets, see Domínguez Arribas (2007, 1167–69); Cruanyes (2003, 234–35).
25. Southworth (1963, 108–12); Serrano Suñer (1938, 54–7); Raguer (2001, 285–87); Tusquets (1939, 100–01).
26. See Subirà on Dachau and Catalanism (1996, 25, 32–3); Bonada (1990); Mora (1992, 234); Canal (1996, 1213).

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